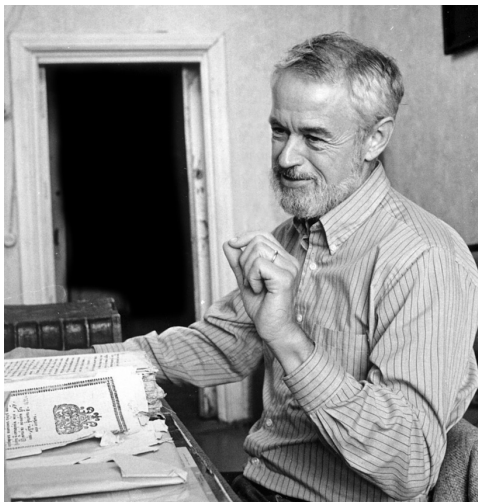


Daniel Waugh. 1972, Harvard University

Даниель Уо. 1972, Гарвардский университет



Daniel Waugh. 1996. Kirov historical and ethnographic museum (photo by A. Miakishev)

Даниель Уо. 1996. Историко-этнографический музей г. Кирова (фото А. Мякишева)



Scientia  
et vita

## THE ENTHUSIASMS OF YOUTH AND WHERE THEY LED: A MEMOIR

The autobiography written by Daniel Waugh, an eminent American scholar and specialist in Old Russian literature demonstrates how a person's life can be combined with professional interest. The events of the author's life are set against a background of Russian studies carried out both in Russia and abroad, as well as historical and cultural discussion. The reader gets acquainted with the Soviet and world humanities thought that intricately combines benevolence and academic objectivity with ideological confrontation and captious objections. The author's perfect understanding of people and their achievements makes the memoirs a source of valuable information on the humanities during the Cold War and post-Soviet years. The article demonstrates that respect for hard academic work and mutual respect among scholars is a key to the solution of conflicts and disagreement regardless of their nature. This is the first part of the autobiography, a continuation is to be published in the upcoming issue.

Keywords: Soviet humanities; Pushkin House; Soviet historians; Manuscript Heritage; Old Russian literature.

The essay which follows was originally composed in 2012 as an introduction to a possible reprint collection of my early publications. While such a collection undoubtedly will never appear in print (most of the material is available in electronic form on my personal website), in the process I was adding some notes to update or contextualize the early work and pondering the question for which I still do not have a definitive answer as to how and why my career developed the way it did.<sup>1</sup> In short, I am at that stage of life in my seventh decade, when some kind of nostalgia (and also critical self-examination) of one's early years emerges. This essay is far from a complete scholarly autobiography, as life and scholarship continue, and my interests nowadays are increasingly occupied by the history of Central Asia and especially the historic Silk Roads and Eurasian exchange. Why those subjects is a topic for another day. Readers should also be warned that, as with any memoir, to a considerable degree this one is self-serving. Memoirists tend to want to justify themselves and enhance their importance. At very least though, I can hope the essay will shed some light on how one American specialist on pre-modern Russia

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<sup>1</sup> Links are to be found at <http://faculty.washington.edu/dwaugh>.

benefitted from the privilege and opportunity of interacting with so many prominent specialists. I am in their debt.

My path to pre-modern Russia from having (unwisely) chosen physics as an undergraduate major at Yale University requires a brief explanation. I began Russian in order to read physics articles in the language. My first Russian history course was undertaken at a dorm-mate's suggestion of a good way to fulfill a distribution requirement.<sup>2</sup> One of its instructors was Firuz Kazemzadeh, who, when I subsequently took his course on Russian imperial expansion, pointed me in the direction of studying Russo-Ottoman relations.<sup>3</sup> I was fortunate to end up at Harvard for graduate school in the year when John Fennell was visiting there from Oxford, lecturing and offering a seminar in the textual analysis of Russian chronicles, a subject on which he was one of the great experts. I obviously took to the kind of detective work that involved; from there it was an easy step to commit to a dissertation on Muscovy, for which, oddly it may seem, my formal adviser was Robert Lee Wolff, even if my "real adviser" was Edward (Ned) Keenan (not yet tenured and thus not eligible to supervise the work). Wolff, a Byzantine and Balkan specialist who at one time had filled in at Harvard when there was no early Russianist on the faculty, had some notoriety for being hard on his graduate students. I was blessed that he left me in peace to do my thing even if the infrequent visits to his study in Widener Library L were a cause for some anxiety.<sup>4</sup> By that point in his career, his main passion was collecting and writing about early Victorian novelists.

To this day I cannot claim ever to have had a particular aptitude in learning languages. The Harvard Russian program was a notch above Yale's in its expectations for third year Russian; so I had to "repeat" the course and hardly with distinction, despite the intimidating

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<sup>2</sup> I thank Norman Sinel, who lived in the room next door (and would later become a lawyer) and whose brother Alan (later a prominent historian of imperial Russian education policy at University of British Columbia) was then doing his graduate work at Harvard. Norman suggested we try Russian history, the survey course at Yale being taught jointly by Ivo Lederer, Firuz Kazemzadeh and Christopher Becker.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Kazemzadeh, of Iranian-Russian ancestry, published on Russian-Iranian relations in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century after having written his doctoral dissertation on events in Transcaucasia during and immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution.

<sup>4</sup> Wolff still was capable of giving grief to those who worked under him, a classic case being Mark Pinson, who had to keep re-writing dissertation chapters and managed eventually to finish only by getting Wolff off his committee. In my case, Wolff did not want to see the dissertation until it was finished, and then he had only a few suggestions for changes and blessed it with what in retrospect I consider to have been unwarranted praise: "...I think it is a splendid piece of work. Even before the arrival of appendices and bibliography, I am prepared to say that not only it is surely acceptable in its present form as a dissertation, but that it is one of the very best I have ever read, and, I think, nearer than any to a final publishable book." (Robert Lee Wolff to Daniel Waugh, 9 November 1971). Maybe my view of the dissertation is much colored now by a kind of retrospective re-thinking of the project in light of newer approaches to the kind of material I was studying. By today's standards, its analysis is very "old fashioned." At very least, even in its final typed form, the dissertation is embarrassing for its many typos, a consequence of my having been in Leningrad at the time it was turned in and thus not having been able to proof the final copy. The dissertation is: "Seventeenth-Century Muscovite Pamphlets with Turkish Themes: Toward a Study of Muscovite Literary Culture in its European Setting" [2 vols.] (Harvard University, 1972).

ministrations of Nina Arutunova.<sup>5</sup> If my Russian today is more or less fluent (though getting rustier, and never all that accurate), it is largely thanks to the extended time in the Soviet Union while researching the dissertation and to having married there a Russian with whom we agreed that it would be our language spoken at home.<sup>6</sup> I also enrolled in Horace Lunt's Old Church Slavonic course in my first graduate semester. He would probably be dismayed if he were alive now to know how much of it I have "lost" for want of practice or that a reviewer of my first monograph pointed out a mistake in my translation of a text.<sup>7</sup> I knew nothing of Lunt's reputation as a harsh taskmaster; in fact he had mellowed and was always very nice to me, indulgent perhaps with a historian who could never be expected to play on a level field with linguists. The memorable moment in the course had nothing to do with discovering the dual or learning about aorists, but was when the bells of Memorial Chapel in Harvard Yard began to ring and someone came into the room to tell us that President Kennedy had been killed. My graduate years also provided the rare opportunity to hear lectures by Roman Jakobson, one course devoted to Slavic paganism, the other to early 20th-century Russian poetry, a subject he knew in part from personal interaction with some of the poets. Jakobson's description of his first encounter with Maiakovskii which concluded one of the lectures was memorable, even if other details of the poetry course escaped me.

One of my reasons for choosing Harvard was to study Turkish, which I did under the Ottoman history specialist Stanford Shaw, though never achieving a level of proficiency which would have enabled me to remember and use the language effectively without constant practice.<sup>8</sup> At very least, it helped stimulate my interests in Central Asia and its cultures, subjects

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Arutunova kindly let me audit the summer version of her course a few years later as I was getting ready to leave for my first year of dissertation work in the Soviet Union and badly needed to have some conversational Russian practice. This stood me in good stead when I rather stupidly showed up in Moscow the day before the date on my entry visa in August 1968 and had to talk my way into being admitted rather than being put back on a plane to London.

<sup>6</sup> Over the years I have been very much in the debt of those who took the pains to correct the Russian in various of my papers and publications: my former wife Marina Aleksandrovna Tolmacheva (the great-granddaughter of Aleksandr Petrovich Karpinskii, who was president of the Russian/Soviet Academy of Sciences from 1917–1936), Veronica Muskheli, Galya Diment, Maria Kozhevnikova, Varvara Vovina-Lebedeva, and editors in Russia whose specific contributions I cannot identify.

<sup>7</sup> My book is *The Great Turkes Defiance. On the History of the Apocryphal Correspondence of the Ottoman Sultan in Its Muscovite and Russian Variants*, with a foreword by Academician Dmitrii Sergeevich Likhachev (Columbus, O.: Slavica, 1978). The review is that by Norman Ingham, published in *Modern Philology* [Ingham]. Once in Lunt's Old Russian course, which I took in winter-spring semester 1964, when we had noted a mis-translation by Serge Zenkovsky (in his anthology of early Russian texts) of the text we were reading, Lunt said with a laugh that perhaps Harvard should demand back from Zenkovsky his Harvard degree.

<sup>8</sup> Shaw's second year course, in which we began to read Ottoman texts in Arabic script, had one other student, Carter Findley, who went on to become a prominent specialist on Ottoman History at Ohio State University. I graded for the course Shaw and Wolff taught on Ottoman History. Shaw then left Harvard for UCLA, where the sizeable local Armenian community made his life miserable for his "pro-Turkish" views on the massacres of Armenians during World War I.

which have come back to dominate my current interests. In retrospect, it was probably not my auditing of courses by Omeljan Pritsak or by Joseph Fletcher which contributed most significantly to my Silk Road interests in later years, but rather the courses on Islamic Art by Oleg Grabar, which were still very much on my mind when I had the opportunity to visit the famous Umayyad desert retreat of Qusayr Amra not far from Amman (Jordan) in October 2010. When it came to passing a second language reading exam for the Ph.D., I chose to self-study French over a summer as the easier route than to revive the German I had learned to read as an undergraduate. (The grade on the French test was something like a C-, but that was passing.) None of this speaks for a very respectable level of proficiency in those languages, which I frequently have to use now and are still a struggle.

My choice of Muscovite *turcica* for the dissertation enabled me to apply my interests in the Ottomans but also was a practical one, when looking forward to doing research in the Soviet Union. At that time it would have been almost impossible to gain access to the foreign policy archives (in RGADA) even for Muscovite topics; so my original plan to study Russo-Ottoman relations had to be abandoned. The wisdom, if it was that, of the Soviet evaluators of my proposal for the IUCTG (in subsequent years, IREX) exchange placed me in Leningrad in 1968, even though I had requested Moscow. After all, Leningrad was the center of scholarship on early Russian literature; indeed, I was placed in the Filfak (Faculty of Philology), not the Istfak (Faculty of History) at LGU, under the guidance of Nataliia Sergeevna Demkova. When I arrived, she assumed I knew very little – largely true by the standards of Russian specialists. Of critical importance for everything that followed though was the invitation I received to attend the meetings of the Division of Early Russian Literature (ODRL) in Pushkinskii dom (IRLI). It was there that I really began to understand a bit about Soviet scholarly life and controversy in ways that never could have been derived only from reading published scholarship.

Apart from that, arguably the most important result of my work in Leningrad was to introduce me to the study of Muscovite manuscript books. I came to this ill-prepared, in the sense that I had never formally studied Russian palaeography (only some years later did Ned Keenan launch a course on it at Harvard). My only training prior to arriving in Leningrad in 1968 was to work through Beliaev's old but still useful manual on Russian cursive [Беляев]. And when I received my first manuscript in the Publichka [now RNB, the Russian National Library] – I remember it well, Pogodin Collection No. 1558 – I was dismayed to discover that even its rather neat hand was a challenge. The analysis of watermarks for dating (filigranology) was totally new to me; I took it up with an inexplicable passion. Overall, in the two years I was privileged to have as an exchange student in Leningrad (1968–69, 1971–72), undoubtedly I spent far too much of the first one fumbling my way through manuscript codicology and nowhere near enough time analyzing and copying the texts that were the subject of my dissertation. The second year, fortunately, gave me the opportunity to rectify some of the oversights.

It is possible that I established my *bona fides* in the circles of Leningrad medievalist literature scholars in the first instance simply by spending long hours in the manuscript division of the Publichka. Somewhat irreverently, I would joke (though not, I think, to the Russians) that a plaque should be added alongside the one on the façade commemorating Lenin's having spent time reading in the library to mark my having spent diligent hours there too. I was there when the doors opened and often had to be reminded it was time to leave when they were getting ready to close in the evening. On at least one occasion the librarian on duty rapped me on the head to wake me up in early afternoon as I was napping at the desk. One unfortunate result of this diligence was to contribute ultimately to the breakup of my marriage (my then wife, with me in Leningrad, was left to fend for herself and was not a Russianist). The one other scholar whose hours in the Publichka manuscript division equalled mine (as far as I can remember) was Klimentina Ivanova, the Bulgarian medievalist who had come for a year to describe the South Slavic manuscripts in the Pogodin Collection only to discover that so little had been done on the task, a year was hardly going to suffice.<sup>9</sup>

While I would not claim here to having developed especially close professional or personal ties with them, I have vivid memories of interactions with some of the most distinguished 20<sup>th</sup>-century Russian medievalists. I might start with Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Zimin. Within weeks of my arrival in 1968 (when my ability to follow an oral presentation in academic Russian was still limited), I attended his talk at the Institute of Russian History (LOII) on the second marriage of Vasili III.<sup>10</sup> I had been alerted to it by his close colleague Iakov Solomonovich Lur'e (about whom, more below). Even though I had read some of Zimin's work on Muscovy, I was largely unaware of the controversy he had provoked a few years earlier with his attempt to show the Igor Tale (*Slovo o polku Igoreve*) was a work of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, not the revered medieval epic that most others believed. Zimin's views had been subjected to a withering barrage of unfairly orchestrated criticism.<sup>11</sup> Without knowing all this, I really could not appreciate why, as it turned out, some in the audience seemed to be lying in wait for Zimin. The noteworthy exchange was one in which Iurii Konstantinovich Begunov attacked him for supposedly falsifying some of the evidence (I do not remember the details), at which Zimin leaned over the podium and responded coldly in level tones, "You are lying" (*Vy govorite lozh*). On another occasion, at a dissertation defense in Leningrad, I heard Zimin (as one of the official *opponenty*) defending the dissertant (with some amusing irony) against unwarranted attacks by some of Zimin's old "enemies" in Moscow<sup>12</sup>. Before these experiences, I guess that I had naively underestimated how

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<sup>9</sup> Her herculean efforts resulted in: [Иванова].

<sup>10</sup> Published later as: [Зимин].

<sup>11</sup> See the summary of the affair in [Fennell]. Fennell was a close friend of Zimin's and sympathetic to his position on the *Slovo*.

<sup>12</sup> For some of Zimin's disagreements with his colleagues on a variety of matters pertaining to early Russian source study [see: Waugh, 1985].



much personal relationships and passions might affect what in the ideal world should be dispassionate scholarship. I was to see more of this in other academic meetings.

I think I met Zimin for the first time only when I went to Moscow on a *komandirovka* a few months into my 1968-69 year. When I returned for a second exchange year in 1971, I brought with me the proofs of Ned Keenan's *Kurbsky-Groznyi Apocrypha* (to which I had contributed a substantial appendix), in order to elicit responses from the Russian experts [Keenan, 1971]. It is undoubtedly good that my thought of making a presentation on it never was taken up, as I would have been woefully unprepared to defend a book that, like Zimin's on the *Slovo*, was bound to be rejected by most of the academic specialists in Russia. Indeed, my association with Keenan's work (and mention of it in my end-of-year report to the Filfak in the spring of 1972) must have raised some hackles.<sup>13</sup> I had the distinct sense Nataliia Sergeevna Demkova had been hauled on the carpet about me; so our relations at that point (but not in later years) were markedly cool.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> I do not recall the exact content of that report – I think I highlighted my discovery of a previously unknown letter of Ivan IV to Stefan Bathory, but contextualizing it with reference to Keenan's book. While I had expected some discussion or questions, it was greeted with stony silence. See my letter to Keenan of 15 May 1972, excerpted in [Correspondence, p. 63]. When I submitted my article containing a previously unknown letter attributed as being from Ivan IV to Stefan Bathory for publication in *Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik* at the invitation of its editor, Sigurd Ottovich Shmidt, he then wrote me to indicate my contextualizing of the letter with reference to Keenan's book had been deleted as not being directly relevant: «...замечания Ваши не имеют отношения к тематике публикации. Спор же с профессором Кинаном может и должен стать темой специальной дискуссии, которая невозможна пока, так как в библиотеки Советского Союза книга Кинана еще не поступила» (S. O. Shmidt to Daniel Waugh, 3 February 1972).

Apart from such academic issues, there were other possible reasons for some to have wanted to keep me at arm's length. I had been instrumental in trying to arrange a Leningrad showing of an American documentary film on the first manned American space mission to circle the moon. The initial scheduling of the film had resulted in a near riot at LGU from the eagerness of the waiting crowd; as a result the local authorities had intervened to cancel the event. After I was married in Leningrad in 1972, I lived for six months in a communal apartment without officially confirming my address or having the appropriate *propiska*. Presumably where I lived was well known to those who would have been keeping track. It is amusing that when President Nixon made a historic visit to Leningrad in 1972 and the other American *stazhery* were invited to greet him at the airport, I was explicitly excluded, the American Secret Service agents having informed their KGB counterparts that (presumably because of my having married a Soviet citizen), I could not be trusted.

<sup>14</sup> My request for another *komandirovka* to Moscow to finish work on manuscripts there, which probably otherwise would have been quickly approved and on which she had to sign off, ran into difficulties, the pretext being the department felt it should not have to pay for it. In fact it never had paid for any of those expenses, an argument I used successfully to obtain the permission. In 1975, when Nataliia Sergeevna visited Seattle with her physicist husband who had come for a conference, she stayed some days in our home; later, when she was in Chicago, she recalled the breathtaking view of Mt. Rainier from the air on leaving Seattle and regaled me with some of the interesting things they had been doing in Chicago. We last saw each other when I was in St. Petersburg several years ago with a tour group and were invited to visit her at home. Part of our conversation revolved around her response to Gabriele Scheidegger's book *Endzeit*, which invoked me and Keenan as a kind of justification for its skepticism about the attributions to Avvakum of works generally accepted as his. I had had nothing to do with the book (as Nataliia Sergeevna clearly understood). She was incensed by the fact that Scheidegger had never studied any of the Avvakum manuscripts, concerning which Nataliia Demkova was one of the great authorities.

Both Lur'e and Zimin gave the book a fair hearing, even if neither of them could accept its conclusions. Among the many who responded to the book eventually, they were the two who took most seriously the textual questions it had raised. With the exception of John Fennell (who also disagreed with the conclusions, an opinion that had to be respected coming from an expert textologist), no one outside of the Soviet Union tackled the textual issues seriously. While Lur'e never wrote a review as such, he published a detailed response in his new edition of the "Correspondence".<sup>15</sup> Perhaps not wanting to complicate his own situation as a "heretic," Zimin chose to deliver his "review" to me orally, so that I could then convey its substance to Ned.<sup>16</sup> In that review, he carefully laid out a number of positive points about the book before going into his criticisms. It is not as though Zimin and Lur'e saw eye-to-eye on all the issues the book raised. Zimin allowed me to read a letter or two he had exchanged with Lur'e in which, as I recall, he chided Lur'e for some insupportable judgments. I was not allowed to copy the letters.

When I next saw Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, in late summer 1979, he was within a few months of his death, easily tired from conversation in which he still conveyed his intellectual vigor and unwillingness to accept what he considered was less than scholarly work on the part of colleagues. He was still living the controversy over the *Slovo*, still unsparing in his criticism of Roman Jakobson for having published a long critique of Zimin's book even though at the time the book itself had never been officially published and spreading the rumor that Zimin had tampered with a key manuscript in order to prove a point. On seeing how ill he was and with his sixtieth birthday approaching, I set about organizing the publication of a Festschrift for him, something his Russian colleagues would have done much earlier but, because of the *Slovo* controversy, never had been allowed to publish. (When their intended volume finally did appear after his death, it still was not designated as a Festschrift on the title page [Россия на путях централизации...].) Fortunately, we at least managed to get a nicely printed table of contents of our volume to Aleksandr Aleksandrovich some two weeks before his death in 1980; I still have the note of thanks he wrote me. The book would not appear for another five years, in part because I found it so difficult to write the long essay I did about his work, in part because my obligations included typing the camera-ready copy in several languages. Because of the Festschrift I was honored by being invited to share the podium in the opening plenary session of the first conference convened

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<sup>15</sup> For Lur'e's views and citation of much of the response to Keenan's work, see [Пепеписка Ивана Грозного].

<sup>16</sup> For my letter to Keenan of 15 December 1971 with Zimin's "review," see [Correspondence, p. 47–50]. Zimin would later publish an article on the first letter of Kurbskii.



to celebrate Zimin's career in Moscow at the Historical-Archival Institute (MGIAI) in 1990.<sup>17</sup>

It was at Zimin's in 1969 that I first met Sergei Mikhailovich Kashtanov, already an established scholar, whose remarkable productivity, breadth and scholarly rigor now rank him among the great specialists on medieval Russian history. I had the pleasure of reviewing his book on diplomatics a few years later [Waugh, 1973], and, during the 1990 conference honoring Zimin spent a stimulating evening in Sergei Mikhailovich's apartment with a number of other colleagues. Curiously perhaps, the memorable moment of that evening came in a conversation with Iaroslav Romanovich Dashkevych, who had provided me in previous years very valuable material for my work on *turcica*.<sup>18</sup> Even though at the time the event passed unnoticed in the Western press, the hot topic on television news in May 1990 in Moscow was the Congress of the Russian Federation, in whose proceedings the subject of "self-determination" kept coming up. I asked Dashkevych, who had suffered as a "dissident," how long it would be before Ukraine gained its independence; his response was, "within a year." I think this was one reason I concluded my Russian History survey course, taught during the subsequent summer term, with a prediction that the Soviet Union would not last much longer.<sup>19</sup>

When it came time to list for my department possible outside reviewers for my final promotion (this, a few years before I retired in 2006), I included Kashtanov as one who would best be able to say something from the perspective of Russian scholars about some of the more specialized

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<sup>17</sup> Our Festschrift is *Essays in Honor of A. A. Zimin* (Columbus, O.: Slavica, 1985), at the time quite an unusual undertaking in that the publication of such a volume outside of Russia for a Soviet scholar was practically unknown. Some who would have wished to contribute to it were not invited, given what I knew about Zimin's attitude toward their work or theirs toward his; the idea was to emphasize the respect in which Zimin was held outside of the Soviet Union (hence Zimin's admirers in the USSR were not included). In contrast to the welcome our 1985 *Essays* received among many of Zimin's colleagues and former students, Richard Hellie used the occasion of its publication to cast aspersions on Zimin in a review [Hellie] which distinguished scholars such as the Profs. Fairy von Lilienfeld and Andrzej Poppe found appalling (letters to Daniel Waugh, respectively dated 7 March 1987 and 22 November 1990). The abstracts of the papers from the Moscow conference were published as «Спорные вопросы отечественной истории XI–XVIII веков. Тезисы докладов и сообщений Первых чтений, посвященных памяти А. А. Зими́на. Москва, 13–18 мая 1990 г.» (Moscow, 1990). Somewhat to my surprise, since I had not submitted or intended it for publication, my paper for the conference appeared in full form years later in a special issue of *Russian History* [Yo, 1998] which constituted a second Western Festschrift honoring Zimin and to which I also contributed a short introduction. The original plan had been that volume would appear in Russia, but for various reasons, publishing it there fell through.

<sup>18</sup> My files of correspondence include numerous long letters from Dashkevych, who meticulously copied from archival files for me texts relevant to my work on the apocryphal letters of the Ottoman Sultan. I regret that when a recent Festschrift was being prepared to honor Dashkevych I could not contribute, for want of an appropriate article and time to prepare one from scratch.

<sup>19</sup> Claims of prescience about the collapse of the Soviet Union understandably may be greeted with skepticism, but I think I am not mis-remembering. Of course it was not only the events in Moscow of May that would have contributed to such an assessment, and, if I recall correctly, I was off target in thinking it might take another five years or so.

work I had done, including my just-published book on Viatka. I gather he wrote a strong letter of support that must have made a big difference in the decision. He then published a lengthy (and not uncritical) review of the book, the kind of review an author always wishes to see, even if to read justified criticism can sometimes be uncomfortable.<sup>20</sup>

I have vivid memories of Iakov Solomonovich Lur'e, as a person and for his intellectual engagement, breadth and energy. It is not as though we met and talked much, but I heard his papers and responses in the seminars at Pushkinskii dom, and was able to sit in on several of the lectures he presented in a *spetskurs* on Russian chronicle writing at Leningrad University. A student of M. D. Priselkov's, he was clearly one of the great experts on Russian chronicles (among many subjects, his interests also extending to serious study of Tolstoi and Bulgakov); the lectures were models of clarity.<sup>21</sup> I feel somewhat embarrassed at having reviewed his book on All-Russian Chronicles and raised in the review a somewhat small criticism [Waugh, 1977] but then not responding to Iakov Solomonovich when he wrote asking me to explain what I meant. The subject was the texts about the "Stand on the Ugra," concerning which I probably was simply echoing skepticism by Ned Keenan, who many years later elaborated on it in an article [Keenan, 2009]. For all his expertise on texts, Iakov Solomonovich was willing to admit that codicology and its related auxiliary disciplines were not his forte. I was much surprised and flattered, sitting one day in the manuscript division of the Academy of Sciences Library in Leningrad, when he approached me asking for my opinion on the dating of the manuscript (and identification of one of the other works it contained) of the *Kholmogorskaia letopis'*, which he was preparing for publication as *PSRL* [ИСПЛ, т. 33, с. 4, № 8]. In later years, we had the pleasure of hosting Iakov Solomonovich and his wife Irina Efim'evna Ganelina in our home when they were in the U.S. And it was subsequently an honor to be able to contribute to a memorial Festschrift for him an article that fittingly dealt with Russian chronicle writing [Yo, 1997]. The article was also published in a collection in Kirov.

Lur'e's career reminds us of the challenges faced by many scholars in the Soviet era – the anti-Semitic excesses of Stalin's last years led to a forced period of internal exile for him. Curiously, as we know

<sup>20</sup> His review is in «Отечественные архивы» [Каштанов]. I have a copy of Kashtanov's review for my tenure file, which, when he sent it to me, I recall not daring to read.

<sup>21</sup> Lur'e was one of the first people I sought out in 1968, introduced, as I recall, via a letter to him from Ned Keenan. At one of the sessions of ODRL where the subject was Russian chronicles, I remember there was a particularly sharp exchange between him and Likhachev; see my letter to Keenan of 5 December 1968, in [Correspondence, p. 26]. I never heard the last of the course lectures, since I had to leave for a *komandirovka* to work in Moscow. In response to an obituary notice for Lur'e in which Ned Keenan mentioned he had never taught, I wrote a brief letter to *Slavic Review* [Letter to the Editor], citing my experience in the course. Unfortunately the student assistant to the editor of SR inserted the wrong given name and patronymic of A. A. Shakhmatov into my letter (where I had written merely his surname), never having heard of the great earlier scholar of Russian chronicles with whom I was comparing Lur'e (a correction was printed in a subsequent issue [Erratum]).

from recently-published correspondence, it was none other than the old Bolshevik V. D. Bonch-Bruevich (then Director of the Museum of History and Atheism) who took the risk of employing Lur'e so he could once again live in Leningrad. In his later years, already as a distinguished senior scholar, Lur'e again fell prey to official sanction, in effect forced into retirement when he had the temerity to defend a scholar accused of "parasitism."<sup>22</sup> While the episulatory legacy is gradually appearing, we are still waiting for the voluminous and, we expect, revealing correspondence which Iakov Solomonovich maintained over the years with Zimin, arguably his closest colleague.<sup>23</sup> I have to imagine the letters will rub some people the wrong way, since the exchanges were often unsparingly frank (and, for that reason sometimes couched in Aesopian language, not unlike what we find among the Russian intelligentsia of the 19<sup>th</sup> century).

Among the individuals who inevitably will occupy an important place in that correspondence is Academician Dmitrii Sergeevich Likhachev, long-serving head of the Division of Early Russian Literature, prolific author on early Russian culture, and toward the end of his life regarded (according to some poll) as the most respected public figure in St. Petersburg. Even if some today might dispute his claim to the legacy, I was struck by the fact that on his desk in Pushkinskii dom was a plaque indicating that it was the desk that had been used by the famous scholar of Russian Chronicles, Aleksei Aleksandrovich Shakhmatov. I owe Dmitrii Sergeevich a great deal, first of all for the opportunity to attend those meetings of the ODRL, where he usually presided and offered at the end of each session an elegantly phrased summing up of the discussion.

On three occasions, I also was honored to be able to present on my own work, the first being a summary of my study of the apocryphal correspondence of the Ottoman Sultan, which, although politely received also was, I sensed, greeted with some skepticism. For my main argument was a kind of "revisionism," which, coming on the heels of the knowledge about Ned Keenan's "heresy," was perhaps difficult for many in the audience to accept.<sup>24</sup> Of course to argue the apocrypha

<sup>22</sup> For a revealing memoir/biography of Iakov Solomonovich, see [Ганелина]. The correspondence with Bonch-Bruevich was published with an introductory essay by V. G. Vovina-Lebedeva [Переписка Я. С. Лурье и В. Д. Бонч-Бруевича].

<sup>23</sup> As Vovina-Lebedeva indicates [Там же, с. 216, примеч. 5], the Lur'e-Zimin correspondence (originals of Lur'e's letters and xeroxes of Zimin's), which in effect is a "diary" of their scholarly lives, has been deposited in the archive of the St. Petersburg branch of the Russian Academy of Science's Institute of History. Vovina-Lebedeva has in fact prepared the correspondence for publication, but its appearance has been indefinitely postponed because of opposition from Zimin's widow, Valentina Grigor'evna.

<sup>24</sup> My presentation was on 3 November 1971. One of the most serious criticisms raised was that by A. M. Panchenko, who noted Ukrainianisms in the texts of the apocryphal correspondence with the Cossacks, features which deserved explanation if my contention that the letters were translations was to stand. I do not remember that Likhachev expressed any particular skepticism, but he did, as I recall, make at least an indirect reference to Keenan, and in a different session later that year (at which A. L. Goldberg questioned the traditional dating scheme for the famous letters of Filofei of Pskov that formulated the "Third Rome" theory), Likhachev was visibly upset that yet another of the accepted pillars of early Russian letters was coming under attack.

were translations, not original works as most had believed, was of a distinctly lesser order of significance than suggesting Kurbsky and Grozny did not write. Undoubtedly it was this response to my paper that reinforced my decision to publish a whole book on the sultan's correspondence, a kind of overkill to make the point that arguably could have been summarized effectively in an article [Waugh, 1978].<sup>25</sup> In working on this material, I enjoyed the warm support of the late Marina Davidovna Kagan-Tarkovskaia, who at the time had devoted a significant part of her scholarly output to the apocryphal letters. My conclusions that most of the letters were translations, not original works, upended a major thrust of hers, but she accepted our differences with grace.<sup>26</sup>

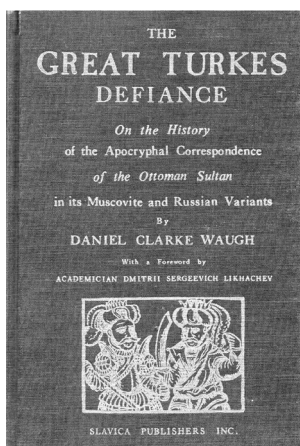
My second presentation for ODRL was held not in Pushkinskii dom but in the inner sanctum of the manuscript division of the Publichka, that historic circular room on the corner of Sadovaia ulitsa and Nevskii prospekt where one is surrounded by the shelved treasures and portraits of famous Russian writers. At the time of my talk in 1972, the prominent portrait bust in the room was that of Vladimir Il'ich, but years later when I was back in that room to chat with one of the retired staff of the manuscript division, Bronislava Aleksandrovna Gradova, she pointed out to me that Alexander I had been restored to his rightful place on the pedestal, thanks to her having located the bust in the Academy of Arts. Perestroika and what followed sent Lenin into exile and brought the tsar back.

Now the purpose for having the presentation in the Publichka was to do "show-and-tell" with the actual manuscripts, ones from the collection of the famous archaeographer Pavel Mikhailovich Stroeve, who then had sold his books to the historian Mikhail Pogodin. I had been using a good many of the Stroeve *sborniki* and had accumulated evidence about how he had gone about obtaining and arranging the material in them. He bought, but also in some cases stole, manuscripts and or portions of them during his years traveling around Russia for the Archaeographic Commission. He

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<sup>25</sup> It was generally well received, with the too kind comments in the review by Charles Halperin in *American Historical Review* really being over the top.

<sup>26</sup> I have a number of letters we exchanged in 1970-71, in which I provided her with details of my work on the apocryphal letters and she responded with answers to questions I had posed. In her letter of 15 February 1971, she wrote: «Все, что Вы пишете о европейских памфлетах, не вызывает у меня возражений, точно так же я не буду настаивать на оригинальности их русских вариантов. Включение их в круг "международной литературы" делает их еще более интересными». While I cannot know for certain, my guess is that her decision to focus her *kandidat* dissertation, which she finally defended in 1975, on original Muscovite apocrypha (the so-called "Tale of Two Embassies" and the apocryphal correspondence between Ivan IV and the Sultan) but not discuss in detail the other parts of the sultan's correspondence may have been influenced by my having undermined her interpretation of the latter. She asked me to write a formal external review of her dissertation in advance of the defense, to be submitted with the other requisite documentation for awarding of the degree. I wrote the review and sent it to D. S. Likhachev on 9 November 1995. Marina Davidovna later provided some further assistance to me in checking against the manuscript copy the text of the Muscovite translation of an anti-Turkish polemic by Gerasimos Vlachos which I submitted for publication in *TODRL* [Yo, 19776]. Sadly she died at age 64 in 1995.



then often either separated or combined quires and had them bound into books with some eye to thematic organization. My observations were not really new, but my evidence was much more extensive than what previously had been adduced. Dmitrii Sergeevich supported my giving the paper, since he was a vigorous advocate of the scholarly description of the corpus of Old Slavic manuscripts, a task that to this day is still far from complete. The Pogodin Collection had been a particular source of his concern, since the project to describe this large corpus (more than 2000 manuscript books) had been underway for some time but with little evidence of progress.<sup>27</sup> The difficulties Klimentina Ivanova faced when dealing with its South Slavic manuscripts had brought some of the concerns over this lack of progress to a head.

Aware of some of this history, I plunged into preparation of my paper with enthusiasm and no great amount of tact. (I might add that some of my letters back to Ned Keenan from that period of my youthful excess often contained somewhat cynical remarks I would be embarrassed to repeat now.<sup>28</sup>) Fortunately, I showed a draft of it to Margarita Vladimirovna Kukushkina, then head of the Manuscript Division in BAN, who raked me over the coals for my tactlessness in criticizing the shortcomings of the description project – she was blunt: “You cannot say that!” The more so that it was coming on the heels of a presentation in the previous year there by another American, Joan Afferica, which demonstrated how careful codicological analysis could enable scholars to determine which manuscripts in Catherine II’s Hermitage collection had belonged to the noted 18<sup>th</sup>-century historian and moralist M. M. Shcherbatov.<sup>29</sup> Understandably, if visiting Americans were

<sup>27</sup> Apart from Klimentina Ivanova’s description of the South Slavic manuscripts cited above, we have to date *«Рукописные книги Собрании М. П. Погодина. Каталог»* (Leningrad/St. Petersburg, 1988–2010), covering up through MS No. 873. Among previous, partial descriptions, the most valuable is A. F. Bychkov, *«Описание церковно-славянских и русских рукописных сборников Императорской публичной библиотеки»* (St. Petersburg: Tip. Imp. akademii nauk, 1882). Of the 91 manuscripts described by Bychkov, only 3 so far have also been covered in the new catalogue; a good many are ones formerly in Stroev’s library. His descriptions are very thorough for contents, but short on some of the codicological information we would expect today. Unfortunately a sequel to this Part 1 never appeared.

<sup>28</sup> An edited version of the letters (where I have excised a few of the more embarrassing passages) is my “Correspondence concerning the “Correspondence” [Correspondence].

<sup>29</sup> A portion of her study was published as *«К вопросу об определении русских рукописей М. М. Щербатова в Эрмитажном собрании Публичной библиотеки им. М. Е. Салтыкова-Щедрина»* [Афферика]; a more complete version of the study appeared as “Considerations on the Formation of the Hermitage Collection of Russian Manuscripts” [Afferica].



perceived as showing Russian experts how to do their jobs, some might take offense. Indeed, at one point I later learned that one of the senior specialists in the Publichka's manuscript division, the crusty Nikolai Nikolaevich Rozov, was muttering that I must be a spy, because I had managed to decipher some bits of a substitute, invented alphabet (*tainopis*) in one of the Pogodin Collection manuscripts.<sup>30</sup>

So, thanks to Margarita Vladimirovna, I toned it down my talk in 1972, it was well received, and subsequently published [Yo, 1976; 1977a].<sup>31</sup> Dmitrii Sergeevich even was kind enough to refer to it favorably in a forthright critique he gave on the lack of progress in manuscript descriptions at the 1972 Tikhomirov Readings (named for the eminent Soviet medievalist M. N. Tikhomirov) held in Moscow on June 5 and devoted to the "Methodology of the Description of Ancient Manuscripts" [см.: Лихачев, 1974, с. 235–236].<sup>32</sup> The published version of my talk may well be the most widely cited of any articles I have written; in many ways it embodies some of the best of what I learned in those early years and would later apply when working on the manuscript legacy of Viatka.

My work on the Stroeve Collection reflected a broader concern I developed to learn not just about the modern history of the collections we use, but to try to reconstruct, insofar as one could, the contents of Muscovite libraries. There is a substantial literature on this subject, with some of the more important contributions works which have mined (and often published the texts of) Muscovite library inventories. A noteworthy example is the work of M. V. Kukushkina on northern Russian

<sup>30</sup> My publication of that decipherment was in the appendix to Keenan's *Kurbskii-Groznyi Apocrypha* [Keenan, 1971, p. 122]. The information on Rozov's comment came from B. A. Gradova. Years later, after I had made somewhat by chance a discovery of a lost Russian manuscript in Tashkent and then demonstrated how it shed important light on the early 18<sup>th</sup>-century history of Xlynov/Viatka (now Kirov), a Kirov newspaper chided local historians because an American had been the first to make the discovery [Yo, 1996]. Of course there is no way they would likely have been able to do so given the absence of proper finding aids and the difficulties that a *komandirovka* to Central Asia would have presented even had they been able to learn of the book.

<sup>31</sup> Apart from improving my Russian, the editors made one significant change in the text I submitted. For comparative purposes, I had cited how monks on Mt. Athos, following the visit there by Archimandrite Porfirii Uspenskii who had stolen some of their manuscripts, were subsequently suspicious of visiting Russians. In TODRL *русские* was replaced by a less explicit reference to foreign visitors.

I learned a good many years later in a letter from Boris Lvovich Fonkich, who has done so much for the description of Greek manuscripts in Muscovy and study of their texts, that he had attended the session in the Publichka (B. L. Fonkich to Daniel Waugh, 20 February 1981). His letter was occasioned by my having sent him a pre-publication copy of a review of his first book [Waugh, 1981] along with a copy of my publication of the Russian translation of an anti-turkish polemic by a noted Greek cleric, Gerasimos Vlachos [Yo, 19776]. He noted that the article was «исключительно интересно!» since he had long searched, unsuccessfully, for the Greek original of the text (not that I had located it either) and in general was very interested as was I in the efforts of Greeks to get the Muscovite government to engage seriously in war against the Turks in order to liberate the Orthodox from Muslim rule.

<sup>32</sup> In the discussion following the presentations, I said a few words about the importance of filigranology [Лихачев, 1974, с. 256–257, «Прения по докладом»]. Likhachev included a version of his remarks as well in the second edition of his classic textbook on textual criticism: [Лихачев, 1983, с. 113].



monastic collections [Кукушкина].<sup>33</sup> Among the important considerations in studying this subject are palaeographic features of manuscripts – which ones may contain the same paper, which the same or similar hands, and so on.<sup>34</sup> The absence of detailed reference works for palaeography, the complexity of codicological analysis and the time it takes mean that there is still much to be done regarding particular scriptoria and the libraries which they supplied.

One of the still contentious topics is whether or not Ivan IV had a library. S. A. Belokurov in the 19<sup>th</sup> century devoted a whole book to the subject, with skeptical conclusions. Modern studies have by and large supported the idea that the supposedly erudite Ivan must have been a book collector, but evidence for that is far from solid and, as I argued at a conference in 1984, still in need of re-examination.<sup>35</sup> To a degree the scholarship (or work that may not be scholarly) devoted to Ivan's library is based largely on wishful thinking about Ivan's stature as something akin to a Renaissance intellectual. Among the more ludicrous efforts to find his books have been excavations in the Kremlin and at Aleksandrovskaia sloboda, the headquarters for his *oprichinina*.<sup>36</sup> Granted, my views on the subject are colored by Keenan's skepticism.

The idea that Aleksei Mikhailovich may have had a library in the 17<sup>th</sup> century should be far less controversial, since there are no doubts about his literacy and his apparently broad curiosity. But then where might we find his books? I argued that we should consider the archive of his Privy

<sup>33</sup> Since 1991, at least seven substantial volumes have appeared under the general title of «Книжные центры древней Руси», three of them devoted to the Solovki Monastery, another to the Volokolamsk Monastery. They contain valuable information for reconstructing holdings; clearly the authors look carefully at a range of codicological evidence.

<sup>34</sup> I made a stab at this kind of analysis when working on Muscovite chronicles of the Northern Dvina River region, but my detailed palaeographic evidence never was published as part of my analysis and publication of the chronicle texts (in *Oxford Slavonic Papers* [Waugh, 1979]). It would have taken much more time than I had in the Russian manuscript collections to work the material up into a serious monograph. My unpublished discussion of evidence for a scriptorium in the Kholmogory region, «A Scriptorium in Kholmogory: Some Observations on Palaeography» can be read on-line [Yo, Скрипторий]. I sent a copy of the palaeographic tables and some summary notes on the manuscripts to S. O. Schmidt in 1982, in response to his publishing an article concerning manuscript RGB (GBL), Muz. 1836 in «Записки отдела рукописей», т. 38, where he wrote about the importance of studying northern scriptoria. At least marginalia in the manuscript he had discussed seemed to be in hands similar to the ones I had been examining and attributed to the Kholmogory region (Daniel Waugh to S. O. Schmidt, 18 April 1982). Schmidt became one of the leading advocates for more attention being paid to regional history; it was a pleasure to see him after many years in 2003 in the conference on regional history of Russia hosted by Andreas Kappeler in Vienna in 2003 (I had been one of those consulted in advance about the organization of the event; its papers are in *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte*, Bd. 63). For my appreciation of Schmidt, repaying a debt that was long overdue, see «Конец эпохи. Вспоминая Сигурда Оттовича Шмидта (1922–2013)» [Waugh, 2013].

<sup>35</sup> There are references to the most important work published up to that date [Waugh, 1987]. The most serious modern attempt to reconstruct Ivan's library, the work of reputable scholars, is «Библиотека Ивана Грозного. Реконструкция и библиографическое описание» [см.: Библиотека Ивана Грозного...], which I reviewed briefly in *Slavic Review* [Waugh, 1984, p. 95]. The core of the book is a previously unpublished manuscript by Zharubin dating from the 1930s.

<sup>36</sup> For the digging in the Moscow Kremlin, see [Стеллецкий], a work written in 1946 to which T. M. Belousova and A. A. Amosov added commentary. For Aleksandrov, «Библиотека Ивана Грозного и Александровский кремль» [Ковалев], which claims that soil analysis and subsurface sensing point toward where we should find the library.

Chancery to be in effect his personal library, though skepticism about that on the part of some German colleagues revolved around the issue of how we might formally define “library” [see *The Library of Aleksei Mikhailovich*]. While for the seventeenth century we have plenty of evidence in various inventories regarding the contents of libraries, we still need proper analysis of many of them to try to establish the exact contents, since the entries in the inventories are often quite cryptic. In the Soviet period, the main student of Muscovite libraries, S. P. Luppov, used categories such as “secular” and “religious” to come up with statistics about book collections, even though that modern distinction arguably was not very relevant to how Muscovites in the 17<sup>th</sup> century might have categorized their books.<sup>37</sup> My interest in Muscovite libraries in recent years has focused on Viatka, about which more will be said below.

My third talk for ODRL was in 1975. With Dmitrii Sergeevich’s support, I had returned to Leningrad to complete gathering material for a guide to the current locations and shelf numbers of the manuscripts collected in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Count F. A. Tolstoi. While much of that large and important library was described in print by Stroev, his numbering had been superseded by that of the Imperial Public Library, which had purchased the lion’s share of the Tolstoi Collection, its remaining parts ending up in the Academy of Sciences Library and the Institute of History. The only way one could look up the Publichka’s numbers was by checking the copy of Stroev’s catalogue in the rare book reading room, where they had been written in the margins in pencil. Before leaving Leningrad in 1972, I had copied out all those numbers and now proposed to compile correlation tables and track down the other Tolstoi Collection manuscripts. As far as I know, the reason I received the access to BAN and LOII (where I then worked in the closed stacks, not in the reading room) was because Dmitrii Sergeevich had picked up the phone and called on my behalf. My notes for the Tolstoi Collection project nearly did not make it out of Leningrad with me, as the customs officials would not release them without my having a special permit for taking “unpublished manuscripts,” even ones in my own hand. However, an American colleague Jack Haney, who had accompanied me to the airport, managed to arrange for them to be sent home through the diplomatic pouch.

Getting the material published was not at all straightforward and came about to a considerable degree thanks to Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, who was then working on a supplement and a second volume of her much-admired guide to Soviet archives and manuscript collections.<sup>38</sup> She was able

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<sup>37</sup> I spoke about this in “The History of Libraries and Other Repositories to 1700: Recent Soviet Work,” a somewhat hastily contrived paper (not worth publishing now) presented at the Conference on recent Soviet Book Studies, 22 June 1983, at University of California (Berkeley).

<sup>38</sup> I had reviewed Grimsted’s first archival guide volume favorably in *Slavic Review* [Waugh, 1974]. My correspondence files for the mid-1970s include several long letters from her concerning both the progress on a supplementary volume (for which I had, as she would note in her acknowledgements, “furnished...a preliminary list of selected titles of Slavic manuscript catalogs to be included and considerable information appropriate to their annotations”) and the issues surrounding the Tolstoi Collection guide. I received a good many corrections and suggestions for other changes from various individuals either directly or indirectly; I confess to not knowing now for sure that all of the changes made it into the final version of the book.

to negotiate directly with those in Leningrad who had doubts as to whether my guide, representing in part the publication of unpublished *opisi*, could in fact legally be printed (as she reported to me, Likhachev also weighed in to put any doubts to rest). The major task of checking my draft against the records in the Publichka was carried out by Bronislava Gradova. The guide first appeared in an innovative “microbook” format from Inter Documentation Company (a microfiche edition prefaced by several printed pages of the introduction) [see The F. A. Tolstoi Collection], and subsequently was republished in hard copy by BAN, with the blessing and support of Sigurd Ottovich Shmidt, the head of the Archaeographic Commission in Moscow [see *Славянские рукописи...*].

Despite the strong support for the project which leading Russian scholars had expressed and the unusual distinction of my having it published there (in its second edition) by the Academy of Sciences, its value was lost on those who never tried to work seriously in the as yet poorly described collections of early Slavic manuscripts. The most egregious example of such incomprehension was the critical review written by Valerie Tumins, which showed she had no idea whatsoever as to its value [see Tumins].<sup>39</sup> Grimsted was so upset by this misrepresentation of the guide that she wrote a long explanatory letter to Tumins, who responded with yet further incomprehension.<sup>40</sup> Given the relatively short amount of time I had to work on the guide, it is not surprising that some parts of it were indeed sketchy and much in need of being supplemented. Possibly it at least was the stimulus for the subsequent publication of a proper investigation of the history and listing of the manuscript books in the important 18<sup>th</sup>-century library of Prince Dmitrii Mikhailovich Golitsyn, some of which had subsequently been obtained by F. A. Tolstoi [see Градова, Клосс, Корецкий, 1979; 1981].<sup>41</sup> B. A. Gradova, who had apparently written a “peer review” of my guide in its draft form and supplied corrections to it, was the lead author of that two-part study.

While in Leningrad in 1975, I also gave a talk in Pushkinskii dom (somewhat ill-attended, as I recall, since it was in August before the normal academic calendar began) on manuscript description, in particular proposing ways in which it might all be computerized in order to make the information readily available, make searches and comparisons easy, and so on. This, mind you, in an time when I did not own anything resembling a computer and the Internet had yet to be born. I think there was some real interest, but then nothing came of the matter, probably

<sup>39</sup> A brief but appreciative review by W. F. Ryan appeared in *The Slavonic and East European Review* [Ryan].

<sup>40</sup> Patricia Kennedy Grimsted to Valerie A. Tumins, 30 October 1978; Tumins to Grimsted, 13 November 1978. In her letter, Grimsted wrote, inter alia: “Soviet institutions have been so slow to issue up-to-date catalogues of their collections, and manuscript descriptive work in the Soviet Union has lagged so much since the Revolution, that there is indeed some irony that it has been a Western scholar who, working closely with the Soviet institutions involved, has been able to come up with the type of detailed finding-aide so necessary for specialists to pursue careful research in the field of Slavic studies.”

<sup>41</sup> In the first of the articles, they were careful to note the fact that I had set a limited task in my writing about the Golitsyn manuscripts, which were not the main subject of my guide [Градова, Клосс, Корецкий, 1979, с. 238], and the importance of bringing to bear as they did the published and unpublished inventories of his collection.

because, once back home, I never could find the time to do any follow-up. So, in a sense, I suppose that was a dead-end, even if it was the kind of thing one might have hoped would have had some impact.<sup>42</sup>

To talk about such things today of course would raise no eyebrows, even if we are still far from having an electronic corpus of early Slavic manuscript descriptions in anything resembling the scope of what I had in mind. Perhaps some stimulus to get on with the task might come from remembering that in the pre-computer days, N. K. Nikol'skii understood clearly the wisdom of a comprehensive guide to old Slavic literature and undertook to implement it via the technology of the time by taking all the printed manuscript catalogues he could get his hands on, cutting them up, and pasting the entries onto file cards, organized systematically. I remember vividly consulting Nikol'skii's *kartoteka* in BAN when I arrived in the Soviet Union back in 1968 to see whether it would yield works I had not known which were relevant to my project or additional copies of ones I had known. It was of limited value, being so out of date, even if the inspiration which underlay its conception was still very fresh.<sup>43</sup>

My memories of Dmitrii Sergeevich include a farewell visit to him at his dacha in Komarovo on the eve of my departure in June 1972. We talked but briefly. He reported with great sadness that the poet Joseph Brodsky had just been exiled from the Soviet Union.<sup>44</sup> My recollection of the rest of the conversation was that he lamented more generally the politics which subjected to attack those who were passionate about defending the values of Russian culture. Perhaps an undercurrent here was his emotional response to the skepticism of those such as Keenan or Zimin who would question the inherited beliefs in the monuments of Early Russian literature. I think, though, his concern was more with the political authorities who had exiled him to Solovki in his youth and, in later years when he was already a distinguished scholar, probably had been responsible for a physical attack on him. As I was preparing a few years later to publish my first monograph, I asked Dmitrii Sergeevich whether he would write a foreword to it; he graciously agreed, in the process making some very helpful suggestions which improved the book. I think what he wrote in that foreword is unduly generous

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<sup>42</sup> In a letter of 31 May 1979, A. A. Amosov referred to my presentation in response to my having inquired via Hugh Olmsted about a paper Amosov had given on manuscript description. In his letter, he indicated that some of our ideas about computerization of the process coincided, but more detailed working out of descriptive criteria was needed before that could be undertaken. Furthermore, he felt that watermark descriptions had to be keyed to visual comparisons of the marks (by implication then, any system of numerical identifiers such as measurements would be unlikely to work, even if that was not by any means the totality of what I had earlier envisaged). (A. A. Amosov to Daniel Waugh, 31 May 1979).

<sup>43</sup> Of course Nikol'skii's *kartoteka* is not for reference to whole manuscripts but merely their parts taken separately. There are various reference works for accessing publications and studies of early Slavic texts, the best and most up-to-date being the multi-volume «Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси» (Leningrad/St. Petersburg, 1987–1989). However, it is not intended as a guide to locating each and every manuscript copy.

<sup>44</sup> I feel fortunate to have heard Brodsky reading his poetry at the University of Washington years later, with Jack Haney providing translations into English. On a visit to Venice in 2010, somewhat by accident I came across the plaque commemorating Brodsky, one of the many great figures in the arts who worked in the city and was buried there.

in its praise.<sup>45</sup> My last memories connected with Dmitrii Sergeevich are post-mortem, when I accepted an invitation to present at the second conference held in his memory in Pushkinskii Dom in late November 2003.<sup>46</sup> This was more than just another academic conference: for many it was a ceremonial and emotional occasion dedicated to burnishing the memory of his life and accomplishments. When the academic proceedings ended, participants were invited to attend a memorial church service and then participate in a candle-lit graveside prayer ceremony in the misty pines of the November twilight at the cemetery in Komarovo which is also the resting place of Anna Akhmatova.

УДК 82-94 + 09 + 930

Даниель Уо

### УВЛЕЧЕНИЯ ЮНОСТИ И К ЧЕМУ ОНИ ПРИВЕЛИ: АВТОБИОГРАФИЯ

Автобиография, которую предлагает читателю видный американский исследователь, специалист в области древнерусской книжности Даниэль Уо, нетривиально показывает сочетание личной судьбы и профессионального интереса. События жизни разворачиваются в контексте отечественной и зарубежной русистики, споров и дискуссий исторического и культурологического характера. Перед читателем открывается панорама советской и мировой гуманитарной науки, где противоречиво соединяются доброжелательность и научная объективность с идеологическим противостоянием и мелочными придирками. Прекрасное понимание людей, оценка их достижений делает воспоминания источником по характеристике состояния гуманитарной науки в напряженные годы

<sup>45</sup> His foreword is in my *The Great Turkes Defiance* [Waugh, 1978, p. 1–4]. He had even earlier complimented my work in overly generous terms at the same time that he expressed bluntly his regret that I had ever gotten involved with Keenan's book («огорчаюсь за участие в книге... Н. Кинана»), whose conclusions (and method) he could not accept (letter of D. S. Likhachev to Daniel Waugh, 23 October 1973). His critique of Keenan's book in the second edition of his *Tekstologiia* [Лихачев, 1983, с. 261–263, примеч. 35] explicitly absolved me from any responsibility for Keenan's ideas (!). While my contribution to the Keenan book was more than adequately acknowledged in it, there were some aspects of my involvement which are not expressly indicated. Since Keenan was away on sabbatical in Europe while the manuscript was being edited and prepared for publication, but I was in Cambridge, I worked very closely with the editor in such things as standardizing references. Moreover, there were some tasks I undertook on Ned's request – locating and assembling the Cicero passages relevant to the question of whether Kurbskii could have cited Cicero as it appeared in texts attributed to him; putting together a draft of the reconstructed text of the first Kurbskii letter published as one of the appendices of the book. The very title of the book offended some reviewers; while I may mis-remember, it is possible I first suggested it to Ned when we were discussing the matter. I still have in my archive the “original” editing version of Keenan's manuscript replete with changes he made to the version of the text he had submitted.

<sup>46</sup> My rather general paper (based on my work concerning Viatka) was published with the others from the conference: «Местное самосознание и “изобретение” регионального прошлого» [Уо, 2006].